

shall contain a regulatory standard for discharge of dredged or fill material into navigable waters in such State, including wetlands, that is no greater than the standard under subsection (b)."

(d) in section 404(f)(1) (33 U.S.C. 1344(f)(1)) by—

(1) striking the comma at the end of subparagraph (F) and inserting in lieu thereof a semicolon; and

(2) adding the following new subparagraphs—

"(G) associated with airport safety (ground and air) in a State with substantial conserved wetlands areas, and in any case associated with airport safety (ground and air) when the Secretary of Transportation determines that it is advisable for public safety reasons and deems it necessary;

"(H) for construction and maintenance of log transfer facilities associated with log transportation activities;

"(I) for construction of tailings impoundments utilized for treatment facilities (as determined by the development document) for the mining subcategory for which the tailings impoundment is constructed;

"(J) for construction of ice pads and ice roads and for purposes of snow storage and removal."

(e) by adding at the end of section 404 (33 U.S.C. 1344) the following new subsections—

"(s) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section the term—

"(1) 'conserved wetlands' means wetlands that are located in the National Park System, National Wildlife Refuge System, National Wilderness System, the Wild and Scenic River System, and other similar Federal conservation systems, combined with wetlands located in comparable types of conservation systems established under State and local authority within State and local land use systems.

"(2) 'economic base lands' means lands conveyed to, selected by, or owned by Alaska Native entities pursuant to the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, Public Law 92-203, as amended, or the Alaska Native Allotment of 1906 (34 stat. 197), and lands conveyed to, selected by, or owned by the State of Alaska pursuant to the Alaska Statehood Act, Public Law 85-508, as amended.

"(3) 'State with substantial conserved wetlands areas' means any State which—

"(A) contains at least 15 acres of wetlands for each acre of wetlands filled, drained, or otherwise converted within such State (based upon wetlands loss statistics reported in the 1990 U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service Wetlands Trends Report to Congress entitled 'Wetlands Losses In the United States 1780's to 1980's'); or

"(B) the Secretary of the Army determines has sufficient conserved wetlands areas to provide adequate wetlands conservation in such State, based on the policies set forth in this Act.

"(t) ALASKA NATIVE AND STATE OF ALASKA LANDS.—

"(1) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary shall issue individual and general permits pursuant to the standards and requirements of subsections (a) and (b) for a State with substantial conserved wetlands areas.

"(2) PERMIT CONSIDERATIONS.—For permits issued pursuant to this section for economic base lands, in addition to the requirements in subsections (a) and (b), the Secretary shall—

"(A) balance the standards and policies of this Act against the obligations of the United States to allow economic base lands to be beneficially used to create and sustain economic activity;

"(B) with respect to Alaska Native lands, give substantial weight to the social and economic needs of Alaska Natives; and

"(C) account for regional differences in the abundance and value of wetlands.

"(3) GENERAL PERMITS.—For permits issued under this section on lands owned by Alaska villages, the Secretary shall issue general permits for disposition of dredged and fill material for critical infrastructure including water and sewer systems, airports, roads, communication sites, fuel storage sites, landfills, housing, hospitals, medical clinics, schools, and other community infrastructure in rural Alaska villages without a determination that activities authorized by such a general permit cause only minimal adverse environmental effects when performed separately and will have only minimal cumulative adverse effects on the environment.

"(4) OTHER CONSIDERATIONS.—The Secretary shall consult with and provide assistance to Alaska Natives (including Alaska Native Corporations) and the State of Alaska regarding promulgation and administration of policies and regulations under this section."•

#### TAX EXPENDITURE CONTROL ACT

• Mr. BRADLEY. Mr. President, the bill that I have sent to the desk makes a very simply point. We can spend money just as easily through the Tax Code as we can through the appropriations process or through the creation of mandatory spending programs.

I think we should be honest about the hundreds of billions of dollars that we spend each year through tax expenditures. Spending is spending, whether it comes in the form of a Government check or in the form of a special exception from the tax rates that apply to everyone else.

Tax expenditures or tax loopholes allow some taxpayers to lower their taxes and leave the rest of us paying higher taxes than we otherwise would pay. By requiring that Congress establish specific targets for tax expenditures as part of the budget reconciliation process, this bill simply places tax expenditures under the same budgetary scrutiny as all other spending programs.

Tax spending does not, as some would say, simply allow people to keep more of what they earned. Rather, it gives them a special exception from the rules that oblige everyone to share in the responsibility of the national defense and protecting the young, the aged, and the infirmed.

Mr. President, we all have been heartened by the recent drops in projected budget deficits. Recent CBO figures show the deficit dropping to \$166 billion in 1996, largely due to the success we had in passing the largest deficit reduction package during the 103d Congress.

However, we cannot rest on that success. Although it was a good downpayment on deficit reduction, it is not enough. Even if we succeed in reducing the deficit further by cutting discretionary spending, we will not even begin to touch the national debt.

We cannot afford to be timid, Mr. President. Our children's way of life is dependent upon our acting on the Federal deficit today and tomorrow and every year thereafter until we restore

fiscal sanity to our budget. We cannot wait until we grow our way out of the debt. And we should not and cannot wait until deficits start drifting up in the latter half of this decade before we do something.

The Congressional Budget Office tells us that the national debt held by the public will rise from approximately \$3.5 trillion to roughly \$6 trillion in 2004. At that time, the national debt will equal almost 55 percent of our gross domestic product. By 2004, interest payments on that debt will be approximately \$334 billion, or over 3 percent of our gross domestic product. One recent report stated that these interest payments will cost each of today's children over \$130,000 in extra taxes over the course of their lifetime. Our national debt is nothing less than a mortgage on our Nation's, and our children's future.

Mr. President, let us not kid ourselves. Addressing our burgeoning debt will not be easy. If it was, we would have done it years ago. Balancing the budget is going to require sacrifice from every American. It also means that we are going to have to take a hard look at what we spend the taxpayers' money on. And that means all of our spending programs, tax expenditures included.

Today, I am introducing legislation that requires Congress, in our budget resolution process, to simply establish targets for reducing tax expenditures, just as we do for other spending items. Those targets would be enforced through a separate line in our budget reconciliation instructions for reductions in tax expenditures. We already do this for other entitlement programs. There is no reason not to do so for tax expenditures. The Senate would pass a budget resolution asking the Finance Committee to reduce tax expenditures, for example, by \$10 billion a year or \$20 billion or whatever the Senate decides is prudent. It would be up to the Finance Committee to meet those targets through the reconciliation process.

This separate tax expenditure target would not replace our current revenue targets. Instead, it would simply ensure that the committee would take at least that specified amount from tax expenditures. Or, in other words, we would ensure that the committee would not raise the targeted amount from rate increases or excise tax increases.

I expect to hear from those who will say that I am trying to increase taxes. I strongly disagree. I am simply trying to draw the Senate's attention to the very targeted spending we do through the Tax Code, spending that is not subject to the annual appropriations process; spending that is not subject to the Executive order capping the growth of mandatory spending; spending that is rarely ever debated on the floor of the Senate once it becomes part of the Tax Code. The preferential deductions or credits or depreciation schedules or

timing rules that we provide through the Tax Code are simply entitlement programs under another guise. Many of them make sense, Mr. President. And I would be the first to admit that. Many, however, probably could not stand the light of day if we had to vote on them as direct spending programs.

Given our critical need for deficit reduction, tax spending should not be treated any better or worse than other programs. It should not be protected any more than Social Security payments or crop price support payments or Medicare payments or welfare payments.

What am I really talking about? I am talking about letting wealthy taxpayers rent their homes for 2 weeks a year without having to report any income. That is already in the Tax Code. I am talking about providing production subsidies in excess of the dollars invested for the production of lead, uranium and asbestos—three poisons on which we spend millions of dollars each year just trying to clean up. That is already in the code. I am talking about tax credits for clean-fuel vehicles, cancelation of indebtedness income for farmers or real estate developers, special amortization periods for timber companies' reforestation efforts, industrial development bonds for airports or docks, special treatment of capital construction funds for shipping companies, et cetera.

Mr. President, before we see a long line of people coming down to defend these programs that I just mentioned, let me be clear that this bill does not pinpoint any specific expenditures. It simply requires that these programs be treated in a manner similar to other entitlement programs.

The Joint Tax Committee estimates the revenue lost from these tax expenditures each year. While interaction effects make it difficult to pinpoint exact costs—how one tax expenditure interacts with another—the Joint Tax Committee list will add up to over \$425 billion in 1995. Unchecked, this list will grow by \$60 billion to over \$485 billion by 1999. Perhaps more interesting, however, are the administration's estimates of what the "outlay equivalents" for these tax expenditures are each year, in other words what they would cost us if they were transformed into direct spending programs, as opposed to hidden spending programs in the Tax Code. The administration's estimate for outlay equivalents in 1994 added up to \$550 billion; by 1998, this amount is expected to grow to over \$660 billion. At a time when we are properly talking about other spending cuts, I do not believe that tax expenditures should be out of bounds.

I am not suggesting that we eliminate all these programs. In fact, many of them I support. All I am suggesting is we put them under the same scrutiny that we put on other entitlement programs.

If we are serious about deficit reduction—and for our Nation's future I sincerely hope that we are—then every

segment of spending will have to be examined. We will not do it through discretionary spending cuts alone. Indeed, what is an area of the budget that is shrinking in terms of gross national product. We will not be able to do it through entitlement cuts alone. In order to achieve equitable, lasting deficit reduction, we will meet to consider tax expenditures as well.

I urge all my colleagues to support this bill.

I list Mr. DASCHLE and Mr. KERRY as original sponsors. I ask unanimous consent to have the text of the bill printed in the RECORD.

The bill follows:

S. 98

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

#### **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

This Act may be cited as the "Tax Expenditure Control Act of 1995".

#### **SEC. 2. TAX EXPENDITURES INCLUDED IN BUDGET RESOLUTION.**

Section 301 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)(2) by inserting after "Federal revenues", both places it appears, the following: "and tax expenditures (including income tax expenditures or other equivalent base narrowing tax provisions applying to other Federal taxes)"; and

(2) in subsection (a)(4) by inserting after "budget outlays," the following: "tax expenditures (including income tax expenditures or other equivalent base narrowing tax provisions applying to other Federal taxes)".

#### **SEC. 3. TAX EXPENDITURE ANALYSIS IN REPORT ACCOMPANYING BUDGET RESOLUTION.**

Section 301(e)(1) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 is amended by inserting after "revenues" the following: "and tax expenditures".

#### **SEC. 4. RECONCILIATION MAY INCLUDE TAX EXPENDITURE CHANGES.**

Section 310(a)(2) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 is amended by inserting after "revenues" the following: "and tax expenditures".

#### **SEC. 5. CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE REPORT.**

Section 202(f)(1) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 is amended in the matter following subparagraph (B) by striking "and budget outlays" and inserting "and budget outlays, and tax expenditures".

#### **SEC. 6. EFFECTIVE DATE.**

This Act and the amendments made by this Act shall take effect on the date of enactment of this Act. •

#### **NORTHERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY NCAA DIVISION II WOMEN'S VOLLEYBALL CHAMPIONS**

• Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I want to recognize and congratulate the Northern Michigan University women's volleyball team on their winning the 1994 NCAA Division II Volleyball Championship on December 5, 1994.

This marks the second straight year the Wildcats have won the NCAA Division II Championship and their third straight appearance in the finals. The championship victory capped a 32-4 record with an .875 winning percentage.

The Wildcats became only the third team in NCAA Division II history to

win back-to-back championships, and are still the only school in the eastern time zone to win an NCAA volleyball championship.

The members and coaches of the 1994 national champion Northern Michigan University Wildcats are: Kathy Jewell, Rachel Dyrek, Jennie Long, April Evans, Liu Jun, Joy Hanzal, Becky Smith, Emily Carrick, Heather Long, Kim Falkenhagen, Erin Hamilton, Pauline Schuette, Kris Backstrom, Jill Heinrich, Jennifer Hansmann, Head coach Mark Rosen, assistant coach Leisa Rosen, and student assistant Kelly Brown.

Mr. President on behalf of the Senate and the people of Michigan, I congratulate the players and coaches of the Northern Michigan University women's volleyball team. •

#### **TRIBUTE TO THE UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO FOOTBALL TEAM**

• Mr. BROWN. Mr. President, I rise to recognize and congratulate the University of Colorado football team on a great season. The CU Buffaloes finished their season with 11 wins and 1 loss. On January 2, 1995, they became the Fiesta Bowl champions, earning the No. 3 ranking in the Nation.

Mr. President, Colorado won as a team but, three individuals deserve special recognition for their accomplishments. First, congratulation to CU tailback Rashaan Salaam who rushed for 2,055 yards this past season. Rashaan is only the fourth person in collegiate football history to attain this mark. He has received honors including being named All-American, All-Big Eight, and the NCAA rushing champion for 1994. In December, Rashaan became the first CU Buffalo to receive the coveted Heisman Trophy. Next, CU quarterback Kordell Stewart has earned acknowledgment for his on-the-field leadership of the CU Buffaloes for the past two seasons. Korell holds 38 school records, including the most total offensive yards by a player, total passing yards, and most touchdown passes thrown. He also is the Big Eight Conference all-time total offense record holder by gaining 7,770 passing and rushing yards. The final notable individual is head coach Bill McCartney. Through Coach McCartney's leadership and motivation the CU Buffaloes football program has become one of the strongest in the Nation.

This was Bill McCartney's 13th and final season as head coach. He retires as the winningest coach in Colorado's 104-year history. Bill McCartney coached the Buffaloes to three Big Eight championships and a national title during the 1990-91 season. I wish all the best to Rashaan Salaam, Kordell Stewart, and Bill McCartney in the future.

It gives the people of the State of Colorado great pride to see the CU